

Message Text

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APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

S/S - MR. ORTIZ

NEA:ALATHERTONJR.

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

E.O. 11652:XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, IS, US

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S REMARKS TO SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS
COMMITTEE

REF: TEL AVIV 6470

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

1. YOUR RESPONSE TO RABIN'S REQUEST FOR FURTHER WRITTEN
EXCHANGES WAS RIGHT. YOU MAY CONVEY FOLLOWING AS MY VIEWS:

A. I BELIEVE ANOTHER ROUND OF WRITTEN EXCHANGES WOULD PRO-
DUCE RESULTS THAT NEITHER OF US WANTS. WHAT WE NEED NOW IS
A PERIOD OF QUIET.

B. WE RESPONDED TO ISRAELI LEADERSHIP'S INSISTENCE THAT
OUR POSITIONS BE REDUCED TO WRITING BY NEGOTIATING MEMORANDA
OF AGREEMENT. SINCE THEN, EVERY PHRASE OF THOSE MEMORANDA
HAS BEEN SUBJECTED TO INTENSE SCRUTINY IN CONGRESS, PAR-

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TICULARLY IN SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. WE HAVE

GIVEN COMMITTEE A DETAILED ANALYSIS, MAIN ELEMENTS OF WHICH WERE COVERED IN MY STATEMENT TO SFRC AND IN RESPONSES TO QUERIES. THESE ARE ON THE PUBLIC RECORD, AND I ASSUME ISRAELI EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON HAS REPORTED FULLY ON OUR

EXCHANGES WITH CONGRESS. FYI: STATEMENT WAS TRANSMITTED IN WIRELESS FILE. END FYI.

C. WE STAND BY POSITIONS WRITTEN INTO THE MEMORANDA OF AGREEMENT. IN MY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SFRC, I HAD TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT EACH OF THE INDIVIDUAL PROVISIONS IN THOSE MEMORANDA IS NOT NECESSARILY A BINDING LEGAL COMMITMENT. SOME ARE PROMISES TO CONSULT OR STUDY. OTHERS ARE EXPLICITLY MADE SUBJECT TO THE ACTION OF THE CONGRESS. DESPITE THE FACT THAT I ACKNOWLEDGED THAT MANY OF THESE ARE NOT BINDING, I EMPHASIZED THE FOLLOWING: "THE FACT THAT MANY PROVISIONS ARE NOT BY ANY STANDARD INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS DOES NOT MEAN, OF COURSE, THAT THE UNITED STATES IS MORALLY OR POLITICALLY FREE TO ACT AS IF THEY DID NOT EXIST. ON THE CONTRARY, THEY ARE IMPORTANT STATEMENTS OF DIPLOMATIC POLICY AND ENGAGE THE GOOD FAITH OF THE UNITED STATES SO LONG AS THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT GAVE RISE TO THEM CONTINUE."

D. I HAVE TRIED TO EXPLAIN MY VIEW OF THE SITUATION HERE TO ALLON AND DINITZ, BUT I CANNOT TELL THAT IT IS FULLY UNDERSTOOD IN ISRAEL THAT I HAVE MADE A MAJOR EFFORT TO DEFEND THE POSITIONS WE HAVE TAKEN. MY JUDGMENT IS THAT WE HAVE DONE ALL THAT CAN BE DONE FOR THE MOMENT.

3. NOW THAT PROTOCOL HAS BEEN SIGNED, WE ARE OF COURSE PREPARED TO SIGN MEMORANDA OF AGREEMENT. FYI: THIS MIGHT BE HELPFUL AS RESPONSE TO RABIN'S PROBLEM. END FYI.

2. FYI: I AM NOT SURE THAT THERE IS FULL UNDERSTANDING IN ISRAEL OF THE INTENSITY OF SCRUTINY TO WHICH ALL THE US ASSURANCES IN CONNECTION WITH THE AGREEMENT WERE SUBJECTED IN THE CONGRESS. THE CHANGE IN APPROACH THERE SINCE THE LETTER FROM THE 76 SENATORS IS STRIKING. WE TRIED IN NEGOTIATING THE MEMORANDA OF AGREEMENT TO EXPLAIN THE
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LIMITS WITHIN WHICH WE MUST OPERATE. I DID NOT THEN SENSE THAT THESE LIMITS WERE UNDERSTOOD, AND EVEN NOW THAT THE CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE HAS BROUGHT THEM OUT INTO THE OPEN, I AM NOT SURE THE ISRAELIS HAVE REFLECTED FULLY ON THEIR MEANING. I HOPE THAT YOU CAN GET SOME OF THIS ACROSS TO RABIN AND HELP HIM UNDERSTAND WHY WE ARE CONVINCED THAT ANOTHER WRITTEN EXCHANGE AT THIS POINT COULD ONLY HAVE THE RESULT OF PRODUCING EVEN MORE INTENSIVE EXCHANGES WITH THE

CONGRESS ALONG THE LINES OF THOSE OF THE LAST FEW WEEKS
WITH PERHAPS EVEN MORE RESTRICTIVE RESULTS. THAT IS WHY WE
JUDGE IT ESSENTIAL TO LET MATTERS STAND WHERE THEY ARE.
END FYI. INGERSOLL

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